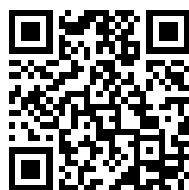

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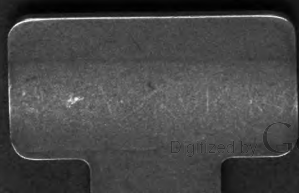
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**EDUCATION OF THE LAITY
IN THE
EARLY MIDDLE AGES**

**BY
PATRICK JOSEPH McCORMICK, S. T. L.**

**A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY
OF THE
CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE, DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**WASHINGTON, D. C.
JUNE, 1912**

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THE CATHOLIC EDUCATION PRESS
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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PREFACE.

In this dissertation the aim has been to show the nature and extent of the provision made in the early Middle Ages for the education of the laity. The period covered is from the fall of the Roman Empire to the rise of the universities, or more precisely, from the fifth to the eleventh century, inclusively. The attempt has been made to describe the state of education in each succeeding century, to indicate the distribution of schools over different areas, and to show the possibilities of education open to those who were not preparing for the clerical or the religious life. In consequence, the great movements which affected the state of culture or learning and revived the educational spirit of the time have come first under consideration, the effect of such movements on general education and particularly on the elementary instruction of the young, being especially noted. The efforts in behalf of educational reform made by those in authority in State and Church, e. g., Charlemagne and Alcuin, Louis the Pious and St. Benedict of Aniane, are shown both by an examination of the capitularies, canons and decrees of councils and synods of their time, and wherever possible, by the actual results which were obtained in the quickening of educational thought and zeal on the part of the leaders, and in the establishment of schools.

It is believed that undue importance is not given to the enactments of civil or ecclesiastical law dealing with educational matters. Regarded as evidences of law and precept and not merely as points of recommendation, they are held to be remarkable for their number and variety; they are not thought to be seriously defective because wanting in that detail which so many consider as necessary for the inauguration of any new measures of administration or reform. When one realizes how little is said

of education or the means of promoting the same in the constitutions of modern States; how scanty is the provision made in the Constitution of the United States, and in the early constitutions of the several States of the Union, for the elementary schools, one appreciates more justly these early endeavors in behalf of education. "The Constitution of the United States contains no reference to the duty of providing the means for education. That great document is silent upon the subject of first public concern, although the fathers of the Constitution were neither indifferent nor uninformed about it." (Draper, A. S. "Functions of the State Touching Education," in the *EDUCATIONAL REVIEW*, XV; 107.) "The earlier state constitutions only infrequently contain mention of education," but this, it is said, "was not because of any lack of recognition of the position of the State government in respect to schools and educational facilities. Rather was it tacitly assumed that State legislatures in carrying out their general powers of protecting the commonwealths and promoting the welfare of individuals would find that a provision of education offered a serviceable means to these ends." (Dutton and Snedden, *Administration of Public Education in the United States*, 56. New York, 1910.)

It is taken as matter of course that the modern State or community went about the work of education by building and maintaining schools long before it began to legislate about them, enforce attendance, etc., but the same is not thought possible for the Middle Ages, and what rulings we have on education for that period are not regarded as indicative either of the intentions of the legislators, or of the actual state of education. It would be more natural and logical to feel that certain things were assumed then, as they are now by legislators, and that the officials of the civil and ecclesiastical orders really intended to execute the laws they made. What was done by the bishops in regard to the schools of their jurisdic-

tion was more than once a real anticipation of a practice that later became a matter of law. Some of their educational measures, like the founding of scholarships, were first carried into effect and afterward merely confirmed by law. The capitularies, canons, decrees, and the various forms of legislation and direction are, therefore, entitled to serious study, and ought to be regarded as weighty evidence of the educational interests and activities of their time.

The types of schools flourishing in each succeeding century are reviewed in order to obtain an idea of their extent and the provision made in them for the education of the laity. What facilities were offered in the episcopal, parish, and palace schools, and in the monasteries before the formal establishment of the schools for externs, what was the effect of this establishment, and its significance as indicating the presence of large numbers of pupils in the monastic schools and the necessity of caring for them, are questions which demand even greater attention than those referring to the lay teachers and professions themselves. Care has been taken to treat only of those points in connection with individual schools which were of rather general application, or typical of certain countries or periods. This was called for by the order followed in the chapters which required that the European world of the time be kept in view, however much the accomplishments of a great personal factor like Charlemagne or Alfred the Great might be emphasized.

The precise nature of the education given the laity, although an important and interesting question in itself, has not been treated here even for the period which followed the formal establishment of the school for externs, when young laymen and clerics were separated from the monks. Before that legal provision was made the elementary education whether in the monastery, the episcopal, or the parish school, was apparently the same for all students. It became differentiated when instruction in the

fine arts, in law, and in medicine was introduced. It was not thought necessary to include it here when the chief purpose was to show that the educational advantages of the time were not denied to laymen. Another interesting and pertinent question, the education of girls not preparing for the cloistral life, is not included in the dissertation as here published, although occasional references are made to it.

A bibliography of the works consulted and referred to in the text is appended, with the editions noted to which the author had access.

CHAPTER I.

THE FIFTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES.

The last stronghold of paganism in the Roman Empire was the school. Long after the conflict of the pagan State with the Christian Church had subsided the antagonism of the public school continued. At times it was an open fight, again an opposing influence to the struggling Church. The emperors who had first liberated the Church, and emancipated her subjects, did not remove this obstacle to her progress. Those who were of Christian convictions would not interfere with a widespread and effective instrument for the maintenance of the civil power. Their training and the traditions of their office made them conservative, loath to interfere with the existing order,¹ and they contented themselves with ruling that nothing objectionable to Christians, such as religious ceremonies and rites, be continued in the schools. Pagan instructors were still allowed to teach and very few Christians were decorated with the official titles of rhetoricians and grammarians.² Even in the new university of Constantinople, founded by Constantine the Great, pagan as well as Christian teachers were officially employed.

The last futile attempt to rehabilitate pagan culture was made through the schools. The Christians who were the most serious obstacle to the scheme were expressly forbidden to hold positions as instructors and even to apply themselves as students.³ The Galileans could not conscientiously worship at the altar of Minerva; they

¹Marion, *Histoire de l'Eglise*. I, 488. Paris, 1906.

²Lalanne, *Influence des Peres de l'Eglise sur l'education publique*, 58. Paris, 1850.

³Allard, *Julien L'Apostat*, II, 360. Paris, 1903. (Discussion as to whether Christians as students were forbidden.)

could return to their churches and interpret Matthew and Luke, Julian had said, and despite the protests of Christian bishops, some of whom, like Gregory Nazianzen, had been his fellow students at the University of Athens, the ruling prevailed until the champion of the Hellenic gods was himself vanquished.

It was only when the system of State schools had been hopelessly shattered that the Christian Church found herself free to follow her plans of school organization and development. When the last stronghold of paganism fell in the East, the new stronghold of the Christian educational forces sprang up in the West. The School of Athens was closed by imperial decree in 529, and that same year Monte Cassino opened.⁴ In that same eventful year also the bishops of Gaul met in council at Vaison, and passed their famous decree for the establishment of parish schools throughout their jurisdiction.⁵

The primitive Church, prompted by her mission to teach all men, very early enlisted the school among her working forces. Her immediate needs, and the circumstances of time and place, tended to foster the types of schools which represented her first educational efforts. To instruct the converts from paganism the catechetical and catechumenal schools were provided; to combat the heretics and the infidels she encouraged the philosophical schools like those of Origen and Justin Martyr; to prepare servants for the sanctuary the episcopal or cathedral schools came into existence. Christian children needed to be instructed in virtue as well as in wisdom, and when free to do so the Church had sought that provision be made for them.

St. Chrysostom furnishes evidence of the decline of primitive fervor in the Christian family of the fourth century by his contention that the domestic circle was no longer capable of supplying the proper religious and

⁴Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*. Cambridge, 1906.

⁵Mansi, *Collectio Amplissima Conciliorum*, vol. 8. Parisiis, 1901.

moral training for the children. Pagan society and environment had affected the Christian home, and the care and diligence of former days in instructing the children in virtue had disappeared to an alarming extent. Under these circumstances attendance at the pagan or Jewish schools was unquestionably fraught with the greatest danger for Christian faith and morals, and although he and others of the Fathers had studied under pagan masters, he directed parents to send their children to those who would diligently serve their spiritual as well as their intellectual wants.⁶

The anchorites and cenobites of the East had responded to this need of the time and undertaken to educate Christian children. Those whom they received as pupils into their communities were not necessarily candidates for the religious life. Some of them were orphans who were given the saving protection of Christian surroundings; others were received from their parents in the presence of witnesses that they might be instructed in Christian virtue. No doubt the hope was entertained both by the parents and the monks that the child would eventually offer himself for service in the monastery, but no irrevocable pledge was made at that time either by the child or by the parents. The matter of entering the order or of taking vows was deferred until the subject attained the proper age to decide for himself. The immediate aim in receiving the children was to educate them, to train them to lives of Christian virtue. Those who proved their fitness, and manifested the desire, could later elect to return to the world, to enter the monastery or the hermit's cell.⁷

The monks of the West were also engaged in this phase of education long before the establishment of Monte Cassino or the promulgation, in 529, of the great constitution

⁶Pat. Gr. Migne XLVII, 349. *Adversus oppugnatores vitæ monasticæ. Ad patrem fidelem.* Lalanne, 167.

⁷Rule of Basil, Pat. Gr. XXIX; Rule of Pachomius and Commentary, Pat. Lat. XXIII, 70.

of monasticism, the Benedictine Rule. The most illustrious examples of this are furnished by the monastic institutions of Gaul, both those of men and of women. In that territory where for two centuries, the third and the fourth, the pagan schools had reached their highest development and produced some of their ripest scholars, the Christian schools of the fifth and sixth centuries grew in power and increased in number in a degree proportionate to the decline of their antagonists. The control of education then passed into the hands of the clergy, and the work consequently of preparing youths for life in the cloister or in the world became an established institution in the early Church of Gaul.

At various times students were also received into the monasteries who prepared for the secular clergy, but these in the period under consideration were exceptional, for the episcopal or cathedral schools amply provided for them. The latter type of school flourished at this time in almost every episcopal city of the Christian world and was especially efficient in the West.⁸ While the principal aim of the bishops in establishing them was to prepare levites for the sanctuary, other students were not denied admission. Judging from the curriculum followed in the early episcopal schools of Gaul, and from the number of lay teachers engaged (sometimes these were converted rhetoricians), a considerable portion of the students would seem to have had no intention of entering the clerical state. Converts were instructed there and, in Merovingian days, when the bishops became proprietary lords with the duty of providing education for all, it was but natural that they should first equip their own school for general educational purposes. The famous schools of Arles, Paris, Poitiers, Bourges, Clermont, Vienne, Chalons-sur-Saone and Gap were well attended when the State schools fell into decline.⁹

⁸Cubberley, *Syllabus of Lectures*, I. 59. New York, 1902. (In 614 there were 113 bishoprics in Frankland alone.)

⁹Denk, *Geschichte des Gallo-Fränkischen Unterrichts*, 191. Mainz, 1892.

The parish also supplied an important educational institution. The decree of the Council of Vaison, 529, that pastors should establish schools and undertake the instruction of the young, is significant not only for the territory immediately concerned but for the reference it makes to the custom already prevailing in Italy and there producing good results. It had been fruitful in fostering vocations to the priestly state, and that undoubtedly was one of the chief aims of the bishops of Gaul in urging its imitation. There is a warning in the canon, however, that those who desire to take up the married state be given all freedom to do so. The canon follows:

“Hoc enim placuit ut omnes presbyteri qui sunt in parochiis constituti secundum consuetudinem, quam per totam Italiam satis salubriter teneri cognovimus, juniores lectores, quantoscumque sine uxore habuerint, secum in domo, ubi ipsi habitare videntur, recipiant: et eos quomodo boni patres spiritaliter nutriendos, psalmos parare, divinis lectionibus insistere, et in lege Domini erudire contendant: ut et sibi dignos successores provideant, et a Domino præmia æterna recipiant. Cum vero ad ætatem perfectam pervenerint, si aliquis eorum pro carnis fragilitate uxorem habere voluerit, potestas ei ducendi conjugium non negetur.”¹⁰

While this text is of the greatest historical importance for recording the official sanction of the presbyteral or parish school, the impression must not be taken that no other evidences remain of earlier institutions of this kind. In the second century a parish school was maintained at Edessa, where the priest Protogenes taught little children reading, writing, singing, and the elements of Christian Doctrine.¹¹ Nor does the text imply that no parish schools existed in that part of the Church, for in the preceding century one is found at Rennes (480) which does

¹⁰Mansi, Coll. Amp. Concil. vol. 8.

¹¹Stöckl. Geschichte der Pädagogik, 78. Mainz, 1876.

not seem to have been monastical in organization, and whose curriculum embracing reading, writing, arithmetic and religion, indicates its elementary character.¹²

With the spread of the monks the cloister eventually supplied the chief means of education for the laity. The children of the nobility and of the poor attended these schools for purely educational purposes, and many of them at the completion of their courses returned to their homes. They came at times in great numbers to the monasteries of men and women, and their formation consumed nearly the entire time of the religious. Muteau says that at Arles, where two hundred nuns were occupied in copying MSS., open school was kept for the neighborhood (*écoles ouvertes*). At Laon also the learned abbess, St. Austrude, "*est représenté comme ayant consacré sa vie à la culture des lettres, 'exercens se etiam in magisterio doctrinae.'*"¹³ Yet these nuns were discouraged in this practice by St. Caesarius of Arles who gave them their rule. They followed in their community life one of the earliest forms of the formal cloister,¹⁴ and the bishop deemed it wise to exclude from their houses the children of the nobility or of the poor who came merely for their education. The prohibition would seem to indicate that the children could be provided for elsewhere. "*Et si fieri potest, aut difficile, aut ulla unquam in monasterio infantula parvula, nisi ab annis sex aut septem, quae jam et litteras discere et obedientiae possit obtemperare, suscipiatur. Nobilium filiae sive ignobilium, ad nutriendum aut docendum, penitus non accipiuntur.*"¹⁵

Gaul was a responsive soil to the seed of monasticism. Since the foundations of Ligugé and Marmoutier by St.

¹²Denk, 194.

¹³Muteau, *Les Ecoles et Collèges en Provence*, 14. Dijon, 1882.

¹⁴Cath. Encyclopedia, "Cloister."

¹⁵Regula ad Virgines: Pat. Lat. LXVII, 1108.

Martin of Tours in the fourth century, and the later organization of monastic life by John Cassian, the cloister institutions had spread with remarkable rapidity. The monks were not only numerous, as when, for instance, two thousand accompanied the remains of St. Martin to the tomb, but deeply spiritual and enthusiastic to place within the reach of others the blessings which they enjoyed in this new form of spiritual endeavor. They received their spirit as well as their organization largely from Cassian who learned the principles of the cenobitic life from the celebrated Fathers of the desert. He had lived with the monks at Bethlehem and the hermits in Egypt, and had come into close contact with St. Chrysostom, by whom he was ordained a deacon. He embodied in his rule many of the principles of the Eastern ascetics and perpetuated their traditions in regard to education. His Institutes were used by St. Benedict in drawing up the constitution of his order, and his Collations were recommended by him as spiritual reading for the monks.¹⁶ Cassian's work was in short for Gaul what Benedict's was at a later date for the monasteries of Europe.

The claims for the extent of education provided by the religious of these early cloisters, those of men and of women, and for the laity as well as for the clergy, do not seem extravagant when the customs prevailing in the Orient are remembered, and the fact recalled that Cassian desired to propagate them in the West. He had lived in the Eastern and Egyptian monasteries as guest and temporary pupil of the great Fathers of the spiritual life then in charge; he had witnessed the good effects of the custom then in vogue of allowing the laity to be present at these instructions, for, besides the children who attended for their education, many of their elders visited them for retreats, and although not forming part of the community

¹⁶Pat. Lat. XLIX, L.

enjoyed the advantage of instruction in the principles of the spiritual life.¹⁷

The outer and inner departments of the monastery came to be recognized at an early period in the history of monasticism in Gaul. There was no legislation, it is true, in regard to the separation of the classes of students, but the prohibition of St. Caesarius shows that both classes of children presented themselves for instruction, and they were practically designated. He had allowed the nuns to accept the "*oblats*," those who were offered as future subjects of the monastery, and prohibited the reception of those whose purpose there was merely educational. The fact that his successor Aurelian was obliged to settle the age for the reception of children, making it ten years instead of six or seven, incidentally attests the eagerness of parents to place their offspring with the religious, some even desiring to do so with their infants.¹⁸

The Rule of St. Benedict appeared about 530, and its more than rapid circulation in the monastic world evidences at once the wide diffusion of the monasteries, the eagerness of the monks for a more systematic life and better organization, and the attention of all to education. It is said that in twenty-five years it had affected all Christian Europe. The educational significance of its rapid spread is better realized when it is recalled that St. Maurus, and others like St. Columbanus who were affected by it, interpreted its provisions in favor of more extensive literary and educational pursuits.¹⁹ Although the Rule does not speak of the cloistral school explicitly, nor of the lay and clerical students, it mentions the work of education and the requirements necessary in the preparation of boys for the order. Certainly all who applied were not accepted as subjects and it was not long before

¹⁷Commentary on Rule of Cassian in Migne, Pat. Lat. up supra.

¹⁸Denk, 196.

¹⁹Sandys, I, 453.

the time of probation was extended by ecclesiastical law, making it necessary for the young of both sexes to undergo a period of trial of at least one year before they could be regarded as members of the novitiate.²⁰

The remarkable growth and prosperity of the monasteries continued throughout the whole of the sixth century. Nowhere on the Continent is this better shown than in Gaul. In that century owing to the impetus given by St. Maurus, the disciple of St. Benedict, there were eighty foundations in the valley of the Saone and the Rhine, ninety-four from the Pyrenees to the Loire, fifty-four from the Loire to the Vosges, and ten from the Vosges to the Rhine.²¹ The Benedictine movement then advanced to other countries: St. Martin of Deume carried the new institution to Spain, and St. Augustine to England. The monasteries of North Britain had long before thrived and grown even in the fifth century to great proportions.²² Italy had seen many other foundations before that of Monte Cassino—twenty-two monasteries in the City of Rome accepted the Benedictine Rule almost as soon as it appeared—and Africa, St. Augustine attests, was already in possession of her monasteries as well as episcopal schools.²³

Ireland at this time was a veritable land of schools and scholars. In the fifth and sixth centuries her monasteries were world renowned as institutes of learning, and in the seventh and eighth a constant stream of students came from the Continent to learn theology, Scripture, and classic literature from the great Irish scholars. Famous for their knowledge of Latin and Greek, the Irish schools were preparing in this epoch for that generation of teachers who were shortly to invade Europe, and dis-

²⁰Epistles of St. Gregory the Great, I, 50 in Pat. Lat. XLIX.

²¹Marion, II, 138.

²²Drane, Christian Schools and Scholars, I, 48. London, 1867.

²³Marion, I, 573.

tinguish themselves as philosophers and teachers in both public and private schools.²⁴

The foundations of Armagh by St. Patrick, of Kildare by St. Brigid, were emulated both as schools and as monasteries by the efforts of St. Enda of Aran, St. Finian of Clonard, St. Brendan of Clonfert before St. Comgall founded the famous school of Bangor or St. Columbanus led his Irish monks to Luxeuil in France, and Bobbio in Italy. From the latter we have the terse description of the daily work in every monastery: "*Ergo quotidie jejunandum est, sicut quotidie orandum est, quotidie laborandum, quotidieque est legendum.*" Dr. Healy writing of the monasteries generally, and of the Irish in particular, says:

"Fasting and prayer, labor and study, are the daily tasks of the monks in every monastery. How patiently and unselfishly that toil was performed the history of Europe tells. The monks made roads, cleared the forests, and fertilized the desert. Their monasteries in Ireland were the sites of our cities. To this day the land about the monastery is well known to be the greenest and best in the district; and it was made fertile by the labors of the monks. They preserved for us the literary treasures of antiquity; they multiplied copies of all the best and newest works; they illuminated them with the most loving care. They taught the children of the rich and poor alike; they built the Church and the palace; they were the greatest authors, painters and architects, since the decline of the Roman Empire. They were the physicians of the poor when there were no dispensary doctors; they served the sick in the hospitals and at their homes. And when the day's work was done in the fields or in the study, they praised God, and prayed for men who were unable or unwilling to pray for themselves. Ignorant and

²⁴Ozanam, A. F. Oeuvres, v. 4, p. 528. Paris (1872).

prejudiced men have spoken of them as an idle and useless race. They were in reality the greatest toilers, and the greatest benefactors of humanity that the world has ever seen.²⁵

²⁵Healy, *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars*, 102. Dublin, 1893.

CHAPTER II

THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES

It is not our purpose to set forth here the content of monastic education, but rather to indicate the extent of the provision made in the monasteries for the training of the laity. Before noting the other forms of scholastic institutions then flourishing, it may be well, however, to state that the leading and dominating idea in the Christian school of that period was to give a religious and sound moral training. That had been the concern of the Church from the beginning of her educational work. The parental duty was expressed by St. John to Electa and her family in commendation of their steadfastness in the Faith. "I was exceeding glad that I found of thy children walking in the truth, as we have received a commandment from the Father."²⁶ When it became necessary to provide the means for Christian parents to train their children intellectually without danger to faith or morals, the course of instruction in the monasteries was regulated to meet that end. The religious and moral training came first—*les bonnes mœurs avant les belles lettres*. The children were prepared to retain their Christian spirit amid pagan surroundings, and by the example of their lives aid their spiritual leaders in the conquest of souls. Their instruction was not merely religious; the literary and practical elements were not neglected, and gradually there was developed in the cloister that system of education which lasted throughout ten centuries and supplied the means of preparation for the various careers open to the young, even the military.

From the eighth to the twelfth century the monasteries

²⁶II John, 4.

eclipse all other forms of Christian education, and it can be broadly stated that their history from the sixth to the sixteenth century is the history of education.²⁷ They were not, however, the only schools existing during that period, nor were the episcopal and presbyteral. The imperial schools of ancient Rome subsisted to the end of the seventh century in Gaul, Italy, Spain, and every part of the Roman world. In Italy lay teachers not only taught in these public schools, but they also maintained private institutions. They had done this even when the civil law forbade it, and as the State schools gradually fell away these private venture schools became more firmly established. Some of them like the public schools, were subsidized by the municipalities, and they, in one form or another, never ceased to exist throughout the entire Middle Ages. They have been regarded as the link connecting the old Roman education with the universities, for until the eleventh century these lay teachers pursued their courses side by side with the ecclesiastical schools. Naturally they would seem to have been for the especial benefit of the laity, for here in Italy the episcopal and parish schools offered all necessary advantages for the scholastic preparation of clerics, but the lay schools also had some students who later became priests.²⁸

In ancient Ireland a somewhat similar condition existed. In addition to the monasteries scattered over the island, and educating hundreds, and, at times, thousands of students, both clerical and lay,²⁹ there were lay schools

²⁷Monroe, *Text-Book in the History of Education*, 245. New York, 1909.

²⁸Ozanam, *La Civilisation au Cinquième Siècle*, I, 260; II, 366.

²⁹For number of students, cf. Joyce, P. W., *Social History of Ancient Ireland*, I, 409. London, 1903. For number of monasteries and monks, cf. Gougau, Dom Louis. *Les Chrétientés Celtiques*, 82. Paris, 1911. For lay students in monasteries, we might cite an example "where such students are mentioned incidentally:—We read in the *Four Masters*, under A. D. 645, that Ragallach, King of Connaught, was assassinated. At this time his second son, Cathal, was a student in the College of Clonard; and when he heard of his father's murder, he and a party of twenty-seven of his fellow students, *all young laymen* from Connaught, sallied forth from the college, and coming to the house of the assassin, beheaded him." Joyce, *ibid.*

and a lay professorate, and it is believed that in this period laymen generally had better opportunities for obtaining a higher or university education than they had in any other country of Western Europe. Large numbers of clerics and laymen came from England and the Continent in the seventh and eighth centuries,³⁰ and when later, in the ninth and tenth centuries, the Irish scholars went abroad, "they were at once entrusted with the highest offices in the Continental schools, and proved themselves to be not only amongst the ablest theologians of the time, but also the first men of that age in Greek and Latin literature."³¹ In the lay schools more than in the monasteries the Gaelic language was taught, and "not merely the language, but also the history, the antiquities, the laws, and the literature of the nation."

The learned professions of Poetry, Law and History which then existed and were open to the laity, had, so to speak, their recruiting schools. The bards, who also had their schools, were not included in the first class, because they had not received the systematic training that the profession of the poet required. Each profession had its grades or degrees, that of Poetry, for instance, consisted of seven, and the course for learners extended over twelve years. The Brehons represented the profession of Law, and the Chroniclers that of History, and each body had its various grades and distinc-

³⁰Speaking of the yellow plague of 664, the Venerable Bede says: "This pestilence did no less harm in the island of Ireland. Many of the nobility and of the lower ranks of the English nation were there at that time, who in the days of Bishops Finan and Colman forsaking their native island, retired thither, either for the sake of divine studies, or of a more continent life: and some of them presently devoted themselves to a monastic life: others chose rather to apply themselves to study, going about from one master's cell to another. The Scots willingly received them all, and took care to supply them with food, as also to furnish them with books to read, and their teaching, gratis." *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* b. iii, c. xxvii. Translation of J. A. Giles, London, 1892. Many, and perhaps most of these hermits were not priests. Cfr. Gougaud, *op. cit.*, 83.

³¹Healy, *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars*, 597. Turner, *Irish Teachers in the Carolingian Revival*, Catholic University Bulletin, XIII, 382, 567. Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, I, 451. Taylor, *Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages*, 44. New York, 1901.

tions. "It is quite clear," says Dr. Healy, "from various references in our Annals, and in the Brehon Code, that these three professions were kept quite distinct from the sixth to the twelfth century, and that they were taught by different professors, and in different schools—these professors being generally but not always laymen." The school of Tuaim Dreacain, founded in the early part of the seventh century by St. Bricin, is the earliest referred to in the records of the time, but the writings of twelve or thirteen ancient Gaelic scholars give ground for the conclusion that these schools flourished in the sixth and seventh centuries.³²

"A lay college," says Dr. Joyce, "generally comprised three distinct schools, held in three different houses near each other; a custom that came down from pagan times. We are told that Cormac Mac Art, King of Ireland from A. D. 254 to 277, founded three schools at Tara, one for the study of military science, one for law, and one for general literature. St. Bricin's College at Tomregan (Tuaim Dreacain), near Ballyconnell in Cavan, founded in the seventh century, which though conducted by an ecclesiastic, was the type of the lay schools, comprised one school for law, one for classics, and one for poetry and general Gaelic learning, each school under a special druid or head professor. (O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, I, 92.) And coming to a much later period, we know that in the fifteenth century the O'Clery's of Donegal kept three schools—namely, for literature, for history, and for poetry."³³

The nobility enjoyed still another avenue to learning in addition to the monastery and episcopal schools. The palace was often the scene of school activity, and some of the most distinguished ecclesiastics and laymen of the early Church of Gaul were educated there. The best

³²Op. cit., 600.

³³Op. cit., 420.

equipped teachers were retained by the nobility for these academies which, in Gaul, date from the reigns of the sons of Clovis I, and if townships vied with one another to obtain the services of distinguished grammarians and rhetoricians, the nobles were even more jealous of enjoying in their courts the presence of the saintly and the learned.³⁴

Many young clerics were attached to the courts of the Franks, and engaged in chanting the divine offices. The palace served for them as a training school. They learned to perform their duties in the choir, and they also pursued the studies which completed the ecclesiastical education of the time. The Merovingians furthermore, like the Anglo-Saxons and the Lombards, followed the ancient custom of the Germans, to which Tacitus alludes,³⁵ of receiving into their palaces the sons of other noblemen whom they treated as members of the household, educating and rearing them as they did their own children. The youths were the wards of their protector; they acted as his aides in military expeditions; they graced his court festivities; they were also representatives of their families and pledges of fidelity to the king or prince. As their future careers were assured while they held the favor of the court, a place in the palace school was eagerly sought for the ambitious and promising sons of the nobility. Here in a training school for public life in Church and State, the pupils were instructed in the sacred and profane sciences; they learned to speak and write Latin, and some of them acquired skill in versification; the laymen as well as the clerics were made familiar with music, and for those whose calling demanded it,

³⁴Ozanam, *La Civilisation Chrétienne chez les Francs*, IV, 501. In placing this institution as far back as the reigns of the sons of Clovis I, we are not unaware of the contention of some that it had its real beginnings in the time of Charlemagne. Cfr. Maitre, *Les Ecoles Episcopales et Monastiques de L'Occident*, Chap. IV. Paris, 1866.

³⁵Germania, XIII.

exercise in military tactics was provided. History, Roman Law, and the national traditions entered into the courses generally given in these palace schools.⁸⁶ St. Ouen, Archbishop of Rouen, St. Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz, and St. Benedict of Aniane, went forth from the palace school and distinguished themselves in public careers before being called to the service of the Church. This institution, of course, did not receive in this early period the same distinction, nor attain to the same degree of efficiency, as in the reign of Charlemagne.

Meanwhile the monasteries are responsible for two conspicuous phases of educational activity; one carrying the light of the Gospel and civilization to the barbarians, the other preserving amid the ravages of time the treasures of learning. St. Boniface represents the first phase, and the Venerable Bede, the other. Both the products of English monasticism, they reflect at once the ideal of Christian education, and the degree of attainment achieved at that time in the schools. Saints and scholars, they labored not for themselves but for the glory of the truth of God, and the spread of His Kingdom on earth. The Venerable Bede never ceased to study, to teach, and to write, until the last hours of his life, and in the peaceful enclosure of his monastery manifested that same industry and energy to transmit to his brethren and posterity the blessings of learning which characterized the work of St. Boniface as the indefatigable missionary.

The work of St. Boniface that interests us here was the establishment and organization of schools everywhere throughout the wide field of his missionary labors. In Friesland, Thuringia, Bavaria, or in Gaul, wherever he sought to plant the seed of faith, or to build up the previously established Church, he attended also to the founda-

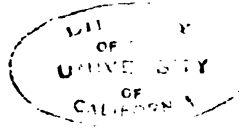
⁸⁶For discussion of the Palace School under the Merovingians, cfr. *Revue des Questions Historiques*, LXI, 490, by E. Vacandard; LXXIV, 552, by A. S. Wilde; LXXVI, 549, by E. Vacandard.

tion or reformation of monasteries and schools. He induced great numbers of monks to follow him, and he obtained the services of Sts. Walburga, Thecla, and Lioba from England to assist in the establishment of convents for women and schools for girls.³⁷ In a letter to Lioba he sanctioned her taking of a girl into the monastery for the purposes of instruction. One of his chief enactments in the first German synod, held in 743, was to make the rule of St. Benedict the official guide for the religious in his province.³⁸ As a direct result of his labors in Bavaria alone over twenty-nine monasteries were either founded or reopened within the space of fifty years. Fulda, the great monastery of North Germany, was founded under his direction by his disciple, St. Sturm.

The correspondence of the great Apostle of Germany with the Holy See was almost incessant. None was more careful or anxious than he to do all things according to the will of the Vicar of Christ, and in consequence his projects had all the necessary papal sanction even before he was placed over the Church in Germany. He also maintained a continuous correspondence with the leaders of the Church in England. By means of it he had obtained many of his colaborers on the missions, religious for the cloisters, and in a general way many such valuable auxiliaries and necessities as books, vestments, and church supplies. He in turn exercised an influence on the affairs of the English Church. Through his advice to Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, and his correspondence with Ethelbald, King of Mercia, the Council of Cloveshoe was convened in 747 for the correction of abuses and the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline—a council of singular importance in the history of English schools.

³⁷Drane, *Christian Schools and Scholars*, II, 151. Eckenstein, *Woman under Monasticism*, 137. Cambridge, 1896.

³⁸Mansi, *Coll. Con.* XII, 365.



The interests of learning and the schools were foremost in the minds of the bishops who attended. Canon VII, for instance, is a strong injunction directed to those in charge of the schools to rekindle in the hearts of their subjects a greater devotion to study and teaching. They fear for the welfare of letters and especially for the sacred sciences, and they are gravely concerned for the future preparation of those who, as teachers of the faithful, are to work for the "*lucrum animarum laudemque regis aeterni*." Consequently, while urging attention to all types of schools represented by those of the bishops, the priests, the abbots and abbesses, they advocate in the strongest terms the education of the boys. "*Proinde coerceantur, et exerceantur in scholis pueri ad dilectionem sacrae scientiae, ut bene eruditi inveniri possint ad omnimodam ecclesiae Dei utilitatem*." The comprehensive nature of the educational uplift intended by the Fathers can be seen from the text of the canon. All schools are included—those for boys and those for girls, although it is quite clear that the chief concern of the bishops is for those schools where young men were prepared to discharge the offices of clerics and priests in the service of the Church. The canon is as follows:

"*Septimo decreverunt condicto, ut episcopi, abbates, atque abbatissae * * * studeant, et diligenti cura provideant, ut per familias suas lectionis studium indesinenter in plurimorum pectoribus versetur, et ad lucrum animarum laudemque regis aeterni multorum vocibus innotescat. Nam dictu dolendum est, quod his temporibus perpauci inveniantur, qui ex intimo corde sacrae scientiae raptantur amore, et vix aliquid elaborare in discendo voluerint: quin potius a juvenili aetate vanitatibus diversis et inanibus gloriae cupiditatibus occupantur: atque praesentis vitae instabilitatem plusquam sacrarum scripturarum assiduitatem vagabunda mente sequuntur. Proinde coerceantur et exerceantur in scholis pueri ad dilectionem sacrae scientiae: ut per hoc bene*

eruditi inveniri possint ad omnimodam ecclesiae Dei utilitatem: nec sint rectores terrenae tam avidi operationis ut domus Dei desolatione spiritalis ornaturae vilescat.'³⁹

In the great revival of learning which began towards the end of the century the works of Bede and St. Boniface are not entirely lost to view. The institutions with which they were connected, and the men whom they influenced were preparatory causes of the movement then undertaken by the Emperor, Charles the Great, and the English scholar, Alcuin. One of Bede's pupils and closest friends was Egbert, who became the archbishop of York in 732, and founded the cathedral school in which Alcuin was educated.⁴⁰ St Boniface had anointed and crowned Pepin, the father of Charlemagne, and had obtained from him the royal protection of so many of the monasteries, which, like Fulda, were to be the effective agents of the new scholastic reform.

³⁹Mansi, Coll. Con. XII, 397.

⁴⁰West, Alcuin and the Rise of Christian Schools, 31, New York, 1892.

CHAPTER III

REVIVAL UNDER CHARLEMAGNE AND ALCUIN

Alcuin held the office of scholasticus in the cathedral school of York when he was invited by Charlemagne to assume charge of the Palace School. His fame as the great schoolmaster of Britain to whom numerous scholars from the Continent resorted for instruction and training, had undoubtedly reached the imperial court before Charlemagne met him in Italy, about the year 780. Two years later the negotiations were completed for his transfer to the Continent, and his installation as "Master of the Palace School."

The Court then resided at Aachen, and when Alcuin arrived with his three companions and assistants, he found an eager group of pupils awaiting him. The king and queen, their two sons and three daughters, the king's sister, Gisela, the courtiers and scions of noble families then connected with the Court, came anxiously under his tutelage. (Alcuin with the aid of his assistants, succeeded not only in meeting the requirements of this heterogeneous class of pupils, but, furthermore, inflamed them with a real love for learning, and an enthusiasm for extending its delights to others.) The School of the Palace steadily increased in the number of its pupils, and attained a worthy fame throughout Europe. Those seriously in search of knowledge, along with those ambitious for positions in the royal service, endeavored to enter its classes, and, in consequence, many of the most learned and distinguished men of the time were educated there. Among the students are recorded the names of Einhard,

the biographer of Charlemagne,⁴¹ a layman who received his earlier education in the monastery of Fulda; Riculf, who became archbishop of Mainz; Arno, the archbishop of Salzburg; and Theodulf, bishop of Orleans.

The king had found in Alcuin a rare counselor as well as instructor, and because of his devotion to learning and his confidence in Alcuin, ardently embraced a plan for the restoration of schools throughout the realm. With the Palace School as head of the system, he sought to revivify all educational institutions down to the elementary or parish schools. For this end, in 787, he addressed a capitulary to the abbots of the monasteries, and to all the bishops of Frankland, expressing his regret over the decline of letters, and exhorting them to promote the spirit of study and the work of teaching in their respective communities. The decree is preserved in the form of a letter to Baugulf, the abbot of Fulda.⁴² From the context it appears that the bishops were included in the decree, but in all probability a different form of notification was sent to them. Charlemagne's concern for a stricter observance of monastic discipline, a more widespread devotion to the study of letters, and the art of teaching can be seen from the text of the capitulary which is here reproduced.⁴³ The translation is, with some modifications, that of J. Bass Mullinger.

"Charles, by the Grace of God, King of the Franks and of the Lombards, and Patrician of the Romans, to Baugulf, Abbot, and his whole congregation, also to our faith-

⁴¹Migne, Pat. Lat. XCVII

⁴²Migne, Pat. Lat. XCVIII, 859; *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Legum II, Capitul. I*, 79. Boretius.

⁴³"Karolus, gratia Dei Rex Francorum et Longobardorum, ac Patricius Romanorum, Baugulfo Abbati et omni congregationi, tibi etiam commissis fidelibus oratoribus nostris, in omnipotentis Dei nomine amabilem direximus salutem. Notum igitur sit Deo placitae devotioni vestrae, quia nos una cum fidelibus nostris consideravimus utile esse, ut episcopia et monasteria nobis, Christo propitio, ad gubernandum commissa, praeter regularis vitae ordinem atque sanctae religionis conversationem, etiam in litterarum meditationibus, eis qui donante Domino discere possunt,

ful committed to his care, in the name of God Almighty, friendly greeting. Be it known to your devotion already pleasing to God, that in conjunction with our faithful we have considered it useful that there be in the bishoprics and monasteries, by the favor of Christ committed to our care, besides the observance of the regular life and the practice of holy religion, literary studies, each to teach and learn them according to his ability and the divine assistance. For as the observance of the rule promotes good morals, so diligence in learning and teaching gives order and elegance to sentences, and those who desire to please God by right living ought not to neglect to please him by right speaking. For it is written: 'By thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned.' (Matt. XII, 37.) And although right doing be preferable to mere knowing, nevertheless, the knowledge of what is right precedes right action. Everyone should, therefore, strive to understand what he desires to accomplish, and this understanding will be the fuller in proportion as the tongue in praising Almighty God is freer from error. If false speaking is to be shunned by all men, how much the more is it to be shunned by those who have been chosen for this alone—that they

secundum uniuscujusque capacitatem, docendi studium debeant impendere. Qualiter sicut regularis norma honestatem morum, ita quoque docendi et discendi instantia ordinet et ornet seriem verborum, ut, qui Deo placere appetunt recte vivendo, ei etiam placere non negligant recte loquendo. Scriptum est enim: 'Aut ex verbis tuis justificaberis, aut ex verbis tuis condemnaberis.' (Matt. XII, 37.) Quamvis enim melius est (sit) bene facere quam nosse, prius tamen est nosse quam facere. Debet ergo quisque discere quod optat implere; ut tanto uberius quid agere debeat, intelligat anima, quanto in omnipotentis Dei laudibus sine mendaciorum offendiculis cucurrerit lingua. Nam cum omnibus hominibus vitanda sint mendacia, quanto magis illi secundum possibilitatem declinare debent qui ad hoc solummodo probantur electi, ut servire specialiter debeant veritati. Nam cum nobis in his annis a nonnullis monasteriis saepius scripta dirigerentur, in quibus quod pro nobis fratres ibidem commorantes in sacris et piis orationibus decertarent, significaretur, cognovimus in plerisque praefatis conscriptionibus eorundem et sensus rectos et sermones incultos: quia quod pia devotio interius fideliter dictabat, hoc exterius, propter negligentiam discendi, lingua inerudita exprimere sine reprehensione non valebat. Unde factum est ut timere inciperemus ne forte, sicut minor erat in scribendo prudentia, ita quoque et multo minor esset

be servants of the truth! During recent years we have often received letters from different monasteries informing us that at their sacred services the brethren offered up prayers on our behalf, and we have observed that the thoughts contained in these letters, though in themselves most just, were expressed in uncouth language, and while pious devotion dictated the sentiments, the unlettered tongue was unable to express them aright. Hence there has arisen in our minds the fear lest, if the skill to write rightly were thus lacking, so too would the power of rightly comprehending the Sacred Scriptures be far from fitting, and we all know that though verbal errors be dangerous, errors of the understanding are much more so. We exhort you, therefore, not only not to neglect the study of letters, but to apply yourselves thereto with perseverance and with that humility which is well pleasing to God, so that you may be able to penetrate with greater ease and certainty the mysteries of the Holy Scriptures. For as these contain images, tropes, and similar figures, it is impossible to doubt that the reader will arrive far more readily at the spiritual sense according as he is better instructed in learning. Let there, therefore, be chosen for this work men who are both able

quam recte esse debuisset in sanctorum scripturarum ad intelligendum sapientia. Et bene novimus omnes, quia, quamvis periculosi sint errores verborum, multo periculosiores sunt errores sensuum. Quamobrem hortamur vos litterarum studia non solum non negligere, verum etiam humillimâ et Deo placitâ intentione ad hoc certatim discere, ut facilius et rectius divinarum scripturarum mysteria valeatis penetrare. Cum autem in sacris paginis schemata, tropi, et caetera his similia inserta inveniantur, nulli dubium est quod ea unusquisque legens tanto citius spiritualiter intelligit, quanto prius in litterarum magisterio plenius instructus fuerit. Tales vero ad hoc opus viri eligantur, qui et voluntatem et possibilitatem discendi et desiderium habeant alios instruendi. Et hoc tantum ea intentione agatur, qua devotione à nobis praecipitur. Optamus enim vos, sicut decet Ecclesiâ milites, et interius devotos et exterius doctos castosque bene vivendo, et scholasticos bene loquendo; ut quicumque vos propter nomen Domini et sanctae conversationis nobilitatem ad vivendum expetierit, sicut de aspectu vestro aedificatur visus, ita quoque de sapientia vestra, quam in legendo seu in cantando perceperit, instructus, omnipotenti Domino gratias agendo gaudens redeat. Hujus itaque epistolae exemplaria ad omnes suffragantes tuosque coepiscopos et per universa monasteria dirigi non negligas, si gratiam nostram habere vis."

and willing to learn, and who are desirous of instructing others, and let them apply themselves to the work with a zeal equalling the earnestness with which we recommend it to them. It is our wish that you may be what it behooves the soldiers of the Church to be,—religious in heart, learned in discourse, pure in act, eloquent in speech; so that all who approach your house in order to invoke the Divine Master or to behold the excellence of the religious life, may be edified in beholding you and instructed in hearing your discourse or chant, and may return home rejoicing, and rendering thanks to God Almighty. Fail not as thou regardest our favor to send a copy of this letter to all thy suffragans and to all of the monasteries.”⁴⁴

One could scarcely expect saner advice as to the means of accomplishing the revival in the chief educational institutions, the monasteries and episcopal schools. Men were wanted who had “*et voluntatem et possibilitatem discendi, et desiderium alios instruendi.*” At the same time Charlemagne obtained at Rome a corps of instructors in singing, grammar, arithmetic, whom he brought to Frankland and sent to several monasteries to assist in carrying out the reform.⁴⁵

Other capitularies came forth as, for instance, those of 789 and 804, in explanation of the means to be adopted in order to comply with the imperial demands. These were addressed to the monks and the secular clerics, and affected the manner of their discipline, studies, and preparation of candidates for orders; but a capitulary of 789 has an especially interesting order in regard to the elementary school. It says that every monastery must have its school, and there boys are to be taught grammar, arithmetic, singing, music, and the psalter.

⁴⁴Mullinger, *Schools of Charles the Great*, 97. New York, 1911.

⁴⁵Jaffé, *Monumenta Carolina*, 343. (*Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum*, IV.)

The books placed in their hands are to be of correct composition, and to be kept in good condition. This regulation appears under the chapter "De ministris altaris et de scola," and is as follows:—

"Sed et hoc flagitamus vestram almitatem (altitudinem) ut ministri altaris Dei suum ministerium bonis moribus ornent, seu alii canonici observent eorum ordines, vel monachi propositum consecrationis. Obsecramus, ut bonam et probabilem habeant conversationem, sicut ipse Dominus in evangelio praecepit: 'Sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus, ut videant opera vestra bona, et glorificent patrem vestrem, qui in coelis est:' ut eorum bona conversatione multi protrahantur ad servitium Dei. Et non solum servilis conditionis infantes, sed etiam ingenuorum filios aggregent sibi que sociant. *Et ut scholae legentium puerorum fiant*; psalmos, notas, cantus, compotum, grammaticam per singula monasteria vel episcopias, et libros Catholicos bene emendate (emendatos); quia saepe dum bene aliquid Deum rogare cupiunt, sed per inemendatos libros male rogant. Et pueros vestros non sinite eas vel legendo vel scribendo corrumpere. Et si opus est evangelium et psalterium et missale scribere, perfectae aetatis homines scribant cum omni diligentia."⁴⁶

Another capitulary of 802 enjoins that "every one should send his son to study letters, and that the child should remain at school with all diligence until he should become well instructed in learning."⁴⁷

The exact extent of the observance of these decrees can perhaps never be determined. How many monasteries, not previously conducting schools, were led to do so in compliance with the orders of the king is impossible to tell, owing to the condition of the records of the time, but the following facts lead one to infer that there was a

⁴⁶Migne, Pat. Lat. XCVII, 517.

⁴⁷"Ut unusquisque filium suum litteras ad discendum mittat, et ibi cum omni sollicitudine permaneat usque dum bene instructus perveniat." Capitula Examinationis Generalis, 12. Mon. Ger. Hist. Legum, II, Cap. I, 235. (Boretius.)

rather general obedience to authority in this respect. In a few years the court had moved to many different places, from Aachen to Thionville, thence to Worms, to Mainz, and finally to Frankfort; Alcuin and others had many opportunities to inspect the monasteries far and near, and to ascertain their observance of the orders, and when, in 796, he retired to the monastery of Tours, he expressed no dissatisfaction over the results of the plan of reform.

On the other hand, sufficient evidence remains to show that in many of the dioceses a real restoration of schools took place, and a movement resulted which meant much for the establishment of secondary and elementary schools. In the diocese of Orleans the bishop Theodulf, a former pupil of the Palace School, and apparently Alcuin's successor as state minister of education, endeavored to carry out all the details of the capitularies affecting education. He made his episcopal school the equal of any in the realm, and, in a capitulary addressed to the clergy of his diocese, embodied a famous decree on the establishment of elementary schools—a decree which will reappear in many later Church councils, and which was for a long time erroneously attributed to the Sixth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople, held in 681. The priests of city and country were ordered to have schools for the children of their parishes, and to instruct the little ones in all charity, remembering that "they that are learned shall shine as the brightness of the firmament: and they that instruct many to justice, as stars for all eternity." They were also forbidden to exact fees from the pupils or to accept any remuneration except what might be voluntarily offered by the parents. The decree follows:—

"Presbyteri per villas et vicos scholas habeant. Et si quilibet fidelium suos parvulos ad discendas litteras eis commendare vult, eos non renuant suscipere et docere; sed cum summa caritate eos doceant, atten-

dentes illud quod scriptum est: Qui autem docti fuerint, fulgebunt quasi splendor firmamenti: et qui ad justitiam erudiunt multos fulgebunt quasi stellae in perpetuas aeternitates. Cum ergo eos docent, nihil ab eis pretii exigant, nec aliquid ab eis accipiant; excepto, quod eis parentes eorum caritatis studio sua voluntate obtulerint."⁴⁸

In canons I and II of the capitulary the learned bishop gives a beautiful exhortation to the clergy to renew their piety and their devotion to study. "Oportet vos et assiduitatem habere legendi, et instantiam orandi.

* * * Haec sunt enim arma, lectio videlicet, et oratio, quibus diabolus expugnatur: haec sunt instrumenta quibus aeterna beatitudo acquiritur: his armis vitia comprimuntur: his alimentis virtutes nutriuntur."⁴⁹ The office of teaching is placed in the most inspiring and stimulating light. "Hortamur vos paratos esse ad docendas plebes." The faithful also are admonished lest they be found wanting in their duties towards the children, and the latter throughout their entire period of instruction must be held to the practice of obedience and all Christian virtues.

These free parish schools established by Theodulf encouraged the bishops and nobility to found and to endow institutions for gratuitous education. In some of the monasteries it was customary to accept fees from the scholars of the exterior school, and gradually these schools became rather distinguished for the number of wealthy pupils they received. The poor, in consequence, were loath to attend them. A striking protest was raised against this practice in the monastery of Tours by Amalric, archbishop of the diocese. Since the time of Alcuin the "schola externa" had greatly developed, and the material possessions of the monastery made it one of the richest in France. The prelate wanted to see all possible barriers to the reception of the poor removed, and in 843

⁴⁸Migne, CV, 196.

⁴⁹Ibid., canon II.

gave the monks a generous donation to be used for the maintenance of the poor students. Charles the Bald confirmed his action for free education by a capitulary.⁵⁰

William, the abbot of St. Benigne, in the same century opened in his monastery a free school where the scholars were boarded and clothed gratuitously. The general sentiment was that an education could not be bought, nor learning taxed. The abbey of St. Peter, in Salzburg, bore this inscription over its portals: "*Discere si cupias, gratis, quod quaeris, habebis*,"—a line from the poem of Alcuin, "*De via duplici ad scholam et cauponam*."⁵¹

Other bishops throughout France followed the example of Theodulf and commanded priests to give free instruction to the children of their parishes, or they emulated Betto, the bishop of Langres, who founded public schools in his episcopal city and diocese.⁵² Some slight record of their various endeavors is found in the decrees and canons of the provincial councils and diocesan synods of that century. In the council of Chalons-sur-Saone, held in 813, an unmistakable effort was made to continue the movement begun by Charlemagne, both for the benefit of the clergy and the laity. The third canon of that council reads:

"*Oportet etiam, ut sicut dominus Imperator Carolus, vir singularis mansuetudinis, fortitudinis, prudentiae, justitiae, et temperantiae praecepit, scholas constituant, in quibus et litteras solertia disciplinae, et sacrae scripturae documenta discantur: et tales ibi erudiantur, qui-*

⁵⁰Maitre, *Les Ecoles Episcopales et Monastiques*, 49, 203.

⁵¹Migne, *Pat. Lat.* CI, 757; Mullinger, 134.

⁵²Of Betto, Muteau says: "Ce fut dans les dernières années du VIII^e siècle seulement que Betto, évêque de Langres, le bienfaiteur de Saint-Etienne, 'établît dans Langres et dans son diocèse des escholes publiques et des maîtres pour enseigner la grammaire, la rhétorique et l'arithmétique, l'interprétation des écritures saintes, la musique et le plain chant et aultres arts libéraux. L'on adjoute que par les mêmes ordres du roy l'on y dressa une espèce d'académie avec privileges et exemption pour les exercices militaires, comme de tirer l'arc et de l'arbaleste, de manier une espée et un bouclier, en un mot, de s'exercer aux armes.' Extrait d'un ancien manuscrit cité par François Gauthier dans sa notice histor. sur le collège de Langres." *Les Ecoles et Collèges en Province*, 23.

bus merito dicatur a Domino: 'Vos estis sal terrae:' et qui condimentum plebibus esse valeant, et quorum doctrina non solum diversis haeresibus, verum etiam antichristi monitis, et ipsi antichristo resistatur: ut merito de illis in laude ecclesiae dicatur: 'Mille clypei pendent ex ea, omnis armatura fortium.'⁵³

A council of Paris, convened in 829, did not hesitate to suggest to Louis the Pious, the successor of Charlemagne, that to perpetuate the traditions of his father in regard to education, and to further his own projects, the most feasible plan would be to found three or more public schools in important centers of the Empire. The monasteries were evidently not sufficient for the needs of the time in the field of higher learning, and churchmen were anxious that a movement so conspicuously inaugurated as that of Charlemagne should be continued under better circumstances. The memorial of the bishops to the emperor contains their suggestion. "Similiter obnixè ac simpliciter vestrae celsitudini suggerimus, ut morem paternum sequentes, saltem in tribus congruentissimis imperii vestri locis, *scholae publicae ex vestra auctoritate fiant*: ut labor patris vestri et vester per incuriam, quod absit, labefactando non depereat. Quoniam ex hoc facto et magna utilitas, et honor sanctae Dei ecclesiae, et vobis magnum mercedis emolumentum, et memoria sempiterna accrescet."⁵⁴

The church of Rheims was governed in the middle of this century by the learned archbishop Hincmar, who in his directions to the deans and clerics appointed to assist him in the canonical inspection of the parishes showed a special solicitude for the school. Each pastor was expected to have a cleric with him who could teach in the school and assist in the services of the church. "Si habeat clericum, qui posset tenere scholam, aut legere

⁵³Hardouin Acta Conciliorum, IV, 1032. Paris, 1714.

⁵⁴Mansi, Coll. Con. XIV, 599.

epistolam, aut canere valeat, prout necessarium sibi videtur.'⁵⁵

The archbishop of Orleans in 858 had legislated to the same effect. In the canon which he had promulgated it can be seen that the priest was responsible for the training of the school teacher, and the character of the education supplied by the school. "Ut unusquisque presbyter suum habeat clericum quem religiose educare procuret. Et si possibilitas illi est, scholam in ecclesia sua habere non negligat: solerterque caveat, ut quos ad erudiendum suscipit, caste sinceriterque nutriat."⁵⁶

Herardus, the archbishop of Tours, in that same year, 858, issued a similar decree:—"Ut scholas presbyteri pro posse habeant, et libros emendatos."⁵⁷ In all of these canons of councils, and capitularies of bishops, the parents and sponsors of children are reminded of their duty to rear and properly to educate the young. The capitulary of Louis the Pious, which appeared about the year 825, seems to have been the model for many that came later. It reads: "Ut parentes filios suos, et patrini eos quos de fonte lavacri suscipiunt, erudire summo opere studeant: illi, quia eos genuerunt et eis a Domino dati sunt: isti, quia pro eis fideiussores existunt."⁵⁸ That of Herardus of Tours required this attention from the parent and godparent, even towards the very young. "Ut patres et patrini filios vel filiolos erudiant et enutrient: isti quia sunt patres, et isti quia fideiussores."⁵⁹

The council of Rome, called by Pope Eugenius II in 853, acted upon the question for the direction of bishops of the universal Church. Learning that devotion to letters and the sciences had fallen away in certain places, the bishops stipulated that in all the dioceses and parishes a sufficient number of teachers should be established

⁵⁵Capitula presbyteris data, XI. Mansi, Coll. Con. XV, 480.

⁵⁶Mansi, XV, 506.

⁵⁷Hardouin, Acta Con. V, 451.

⁵⁸Migne, Pat. Lat. XCVII, 550.

⁵⁹Hardouin, V, 452.

who would assiduously promote the study of the liberal arts, and the doctrines of the Church. Canon XXXIV contains this decree:—"De quibusdam locis ad nos referatur, non magistros, neque curam inveniri pro studio litterarum. Idcirco in universis episcopiis, subjectisque plebibus, et aliis locis in quibus necessitas occurrerit, omnino cura et diligentia habeatur, ut magistri et doctores constituentur: qui studia litterarum, liberaliumque artium ac sancta habentes dogmata, assidue doceant, quia in his maxime divina manifestantur atque declarantur mandata."⁶⁰

This great mass of legislation on the part of the Church and the State was not without its immediate effect in the monastic, episcopal, and parish schools. In the first mentioned the effect can best be seen when under Louis the Pious, the schools for externs became established by law, and when with their great growth and expansion of courses, the episcopal or cathedral schools were overshadowed, and less patronized by those who intended to prepare for the secular priesthood. Of this enactment and its consequences we shall treat later. For the present we may remark with M. Ravelet as an indication of the conditions existing before the law went into effect: "The description of the abbey lands of St. Victor, at Marseilles, drawn up in 814, contains mention of the sons of farmers who were then in the school, and the terms of the Council of Vaison and of the Council of Limoges, in 1031, tend to prove that the hypothesis of a student refusing to embrace the priesthood, after having profitted by the teaching of the schools, was fully admitted. Neither must we imagine that the schools attached to the country churches of this period were simply seminaries. Little girls frequently attended them, and the Bishop of Soissons, in 889, orders that they be kept apart from the boys."⁶¹

⁶⁰Hardouin, V, 61.

⁶¹Ravelet—Blessed John Baptist De La Salle, 14. Paris, 1888.

CHAPTER IV

THE SCHOOL FOR EXTERNS

The numerous capitularies of the emperors and bishops and the canons of councils and synods, quoted in the preceding chapter, give unmistakable evidence that in the first half of the ninth century Church and State mutually endeavored to continue the educational revival begun by Charlemagne. Louis the Pious was earnestly devoted to the cause of learning, and, in spite of the civil wars and generally disturbed state of the Empire during his long reign from 814 to 840, he accomplished much for the better organization of schools. Like his father, Charlemagne, he engaged a distinguished churchman to devise and execute plans for the betterment of educational conditions. He brought to the service of Church and State the indefatigable and energetic St. Benedict of Aniane whose activities in the capacity of a State minister of education affected the whole educational system of the Empire.

Early in Louis' reign the question of educating the young in the cloistral schools assumed a new significance. The monasteries were then the great public schools for the clergy and the laity, and some of them were caring for large numbers of students. The work of educating and rearing so many was a tremendous task and its demands so pressing that the monastery not infrequently seemed destined to become a school or college rather than the spiritual retreat it was originally intended to be. There were churchmen who realized this, and being zealous for the preservation of the monastic spirit raised their voices against education on such a scale as not being the proper function of the monastery. They be-

lieved that it interfered with the quiet necessary in a monastery and with the essential practices incumbent on all in the pursuit of spiritual perfection, and they did not hesitate to ascribe to it any lack of religious fervor or decline of the monastic spirit. In support of their attitude they alleged the famous rule of St. Caesarius of Arles which forbade the religious to receive the children of the nobility or of the poor into the cloister for merely educational purposes. Some even went so far as to disapprove of educating in the cloister the "oblats," viz., those children who were offered to God as candidates for the religious life, maintaining that they could be instructed and prepared for their calling outside the confines of the cloister.

It is not difficult, therefore, to understand how serious and weighty was the opposition which arose against the custom of receiving into the cloister those who had no intention of becoming monks, young clerics, for instance, who were preparing for the secular priesthood and young laymen who would return to their homes upon the completion of their studies. Neither is it difficult to appreciate the further objection which was raised against another feature of the monastic educational system. Although the two classes of students were distinguished one from the other, viz., the "oblats" and those not intending to become monks, all were accustomed to live together in the cloister and to receive the same general training. Those zealous for a better monastic spirit protested against this custom. They pleaded for a training that would more definitely prepare the young religious for their future careers, insisting that since their ends in life were far different from those of the other students they should be given a more specialized training. The future man of retirement and prayer needed a different atmosphere and different intellectual training from the future prince or statesman.

The Assembly of Aachen held in 817, which has been called the first great meeting of the Benedictine Abbots, acted upon this question very decisively. While unwilling to allow the monasteries to discontinue the work of education, they limited and defined the kind of training that could be given within the precincts of the cloister or the inner monastery. They would only permit the school of the "oblats" to be continued there and forbade the maintenance of any other. "*Ut scola in monasterio non habeatur nisi eorum qui oblats sunt.*"⁶² This ruling was of the greatest importance for the subsequent education of both the clergy and the laity. With the young novices segregated in a separate school it became possible to devise the more special training that was desired for them, and this promised much for the strengthening of the monastic spirit. By it, however, the monastery for the time ceased to be a public school, and if the ruling had been allowed to remain without permitting of other provisions for public education, the opportunities for higher learning offered to the secular clergy and the laity would have been decidedly limited, because, at this time, the episcopal or cathedral schools were affected in a similar way by ecclesiastical legislation.

At the episcopal sees the bishops and the clergy were living in communities which resembled the common life of the monasteries, but which were governed by a rule drawn up for them by St. Chrodegang, bishop of Metz. The Council of Aachen held in 816,⁶³ in endeavoring to strengthen the spiritual life of these communities made regulations which directly affected the schools connected with them. By an enactment of this council the pupils were segregated from the other members of the

⁶² Mon. Ger. Hist. Legum II, Capitularia I, 346.

⁶³ Date often given as 817. Cfr. Mon. Ger. Hist. Legum III, Concilia II, 413.

canonicate,"⁶⁴ and only those could be admitted to the school who were candidates for the canonical life of the cathedral; young men preparing for the parish or rural clergy and the laity were denied admission.⁶⁵ It was not long, therefore, before the condition of schools generally was to be feared for. The parish clergy could not be as well instructed in the institutions then open to them as when allowed to attend the larger schools at the cathedrals, and the laity with these institutions and the monasteries closed to them would have only private schools and private tutors at their disposal.

In less than six years, however, these conditions were changed. The bishops assembled at Attigny in 822 publicly regretted their failure to provide sufficient educational facilities for those who desired to enter upon the ecclesiastical state, and pledged themselves to renewed efforts in behalf of schools. "*Scolas autem, de quibus hactenus minus studiosi fuimus quam debueramus, omnino studiosissimi emendare cupimus. . . .*" They decided that, for the benefit of those who desired to

⁶⁴ "Solerter rectores ecclesiarum vigilare oportet, ut pueri et adolescentes, qui in congregatione sibi commissa nutriuntur vel erudiuntur, ita jugibus ecclesiasticis disciplinis constringantur, ut eorum lasciva aetas et ad peccandum valde proclivis nullum possit reperire locum, quo in peccati facinus proruat. Quapropter in hujusmodi custodiendis et spiritaliter erudiendis talis a praelatis constituendus est vitae probabilis frater, qui eorum curam summa gerat industria eosque ita artissime constringat, qualiter ecclesiasticis doctrinis imbuti et armis spiritalibus induti et ecclesiae utilitatibus decenter parere et ad gradus ecclesiasticos, quandoque digne possint, promovere. Libuit praeterea ob aedificationem congruam et instructionem negotii, de quo agitur, quandam sanctorum patrum sententiam huic operi inserere, quae ita se habet: Prona est omnis aetas ab adolescentia in malum, nihil incertius quam vita adolescentium. Ob hoc constituendum oportuit, ut, si quis in clero puer est aut adolescentes existunt, omnes in uno conclavi atri commorentur, ut lubricae aetatis annos non in luxuria, sed in disciplinis ecclesiasticis agant, deputati probatissimo seniori, quem et magistrum doctrinae et testem vitae habeant, et caetera. His ita premissis oportet, ut probatissimo seniori pueri ad custodiendum, licet ab alio erudiantur, deputentur. Frater vero, cui haec cura committitur, si eorum curam parvipenderit et aliud quam oportet docuerit, aut eis in aliquo cujuslibet laesionis maculam ingesserit, severissime correptus ab officio amoveatur et fratri alio id committatur, qui eos et innocentis vitae exemplis informet et ad opus bonum peragendum excitet." Mon. Ger. Hist. Legum III, Concilia II, 413.

⁶⁵ Specht, *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens in Deutschland*, 35 ff. Stuttgart, 1885.

pursue higher studies and yet did not care to become monks or to enter the canonical life of the cathedrals, facilities should be provided in every episcopal see for their education; and, where the dioceses were too extensive or the pupils too numerous to congregate in one place, that schools should be established in two or more places; furthermore, that parents, those responsible for the students, and the lords, should bear the expenses of their support so that none ambitious for learning, or desirous of entering the service of the Church, would be prevented by poverty.⁶⁶

The emperor supported this legislation and in his later admonitions to the bishops reminded them of the pledges made at Attigny in 822.⁶⁷ In consequence we record from his time the formal establishment of the schools for externs at the episcopal sees and the larger monasteries—schools which were open to all but especi-

⁶⁶ "Dei omnipotentis inspiratione vestro piissimo studio ammoniti vestroque saluberrimo exemplo provocati confitemur nos in pluribus locis, quam modo aut ratio aut possibilitas enumerare permittat, tam in vita quamque doctrina et ministerio negligentes extitisse. Quamobrem, sicut hactenus in his nos negligentes fuisse non denegamus, ita abhinc Domino opitulante, data nobis a vestra benignitate congruenti facultate vel libertate, diligentiores curam in his omnibus pro capto intelligentiae nostrae nos velle adhibere profiteamur.

II. "Quid vero liquido constat, quod salus populi maxime in doctrina et praedicatione consistat, et praedicatio eadem impleri ita ut oportet non potest nisi a doctis, necesse est, ut ordo talis in singulis sedibus inveniatur, per quem et praesens emendatio et futura utilitas sanctae ecclesiae preparatur. Qualiter autem hoc fieri debeat et possit, in sequenti capitulo demonstrabitur.

III. "Scolas itaque, de quibus hactenus minus studiosi fuimus quam debueramus, omnino studiosissimi emendare cupimus, qualiter omnis homo sive majoris sive minoris aetatis, qui ad hoc nutritur, ut in aliquo gradu in ecclesia promoveatur, locum denominatum et magistrum congruum habeat. Parentes tamen vel domini singulorum de victu vel substantia corporali, unde subsistant, providere studeant, qualiter ita solatium habeant, ut propter rerum inopiam a doctrinae studio non recedant. Si vero necessitas fuerit propter amplitudinem parroeciae, eo quod in uno loco colligi non possunt, propter administrationem, quam eis procuratores eorum providere debent, fiat locis duobus aut tribus vel prout necessitas et ratio dictaverit." Mon. Ger. Hist. Legum II, Concilia I, 357.

⁶⁷ "Scolae sane ad filios et ministros ecclesiae instruendos vel edocendos sicut nobis praeterito tempore ad Attiniacum promisistis et vobis iniunximus in congruis locis, ubi necdum perfectum est, ad multorum utilitatem et profectum a vobis ordinari non negligantur." Admonitio ad omnes regni ordines. Mon. Ger. Hist. Legum II, Capitularia I, 304. Anno 825.

ally to those aspiring to the priesthood. A good example of the school for externs in connection with an episcopal see is that of Rheims. According to Flodoardus, the historian of the see, when Archbishop Fulk, the successor of Hincmar, was elevated to office he took special care to restore the two schools, the inner and the outer, to their former prestige.⁶⁸ The plan of the monastery of St. Gall, designed under Abbot Gospert (816-37), shows the outer and inner schools as they existed there and most probably in the other larger monasteries. The "Schola Interior" is inside the cloister, east of the church, and the "Schola Exterior" is outside the cloister, between the abbot's house and the guest hall.⁶⁹ In 937 after a fire in the monastery the monks threatened to close the school for externs because they believed that the students of that school were responsible for it.

In the ninth century the schools for interns and externs were numerous and well attended. Some cities like Orleans had both the episcopal and the monastic schools and parents and guardians could send the young to either institution. By entering them the students took no irrevocable pledges to become monks or canons. Many of them became tonsured clerics at an early age, but they were free to elect later, when they had attained their majority, between the clerical and the married state. The leaving of the inner to enter the outer school, or to return to the world, was therefore possible to all. That the laity of all classes attended these schools, especially those attached to the larger monasteries, is attested by

⁶⁸ "Prefatis denique presul honorabilis Folco, sollicitus circa Dei cultum et ordinem ecclesiasticum, amore quoque sapientiae fervens, duas scholas Remis, canonicorum scilicet loci atque ruralium clericorum, jam pene delapsas, restituit, et evocato Remigio Autisiodorense magistro, liberalium artium studiis adolescentes clericos exerceri fecit; ipseque cum eis lectioni ac meditationi sapientiae operam dedit. Sed et Huchaldum Sancti Amandi monachum, virum quoque disciplinis sophicis nobiliter eruditum, accersivit et ecclesiam Remensem praeclaris illustravit doctrinis." Mon. Ger. Hist. Scriptores XIII. Hist. Remen. IV, 9.

⁶⁹ Keller, Bauriss des Klosters St. Gallen, 23 ff. Zürich, 1844. Specht, Ibid. 37.

the foundations for the benefit of the poor and the regulations affecting the wealthier children.

In a former chapter we have noted the attitude of the diocesan and the monastic authorities towards gratuitous education. The munificence of the bishops and the abbots continued throughout this later period, and was only checked when ecclesiastical institutions were destroyed by the invasions of foreigners and the spoliations of unscrupulous princes. The wealthier members of the laity were then called upon to share the heavy burden of maintaining the schools. While instruction continued to be gratuitous, board and clothing could not be given freely. All who could pay for the latter were expected to do so, and both parents and scholars were generous to the monasteries and the teachers. Many rich foundations were established by the nobility during the school days of their sons and daughters. Lanfranc, it is said, received in presents from his students enough to relieve an impoverished community and to erect the first buildings of the monastery of Bec.

In the ninth and tenth centuries, despite the heavy losses caused by war and spoliation, schools multiplied in the more populous centers of the Empire, and the number of students increased. Léon Maître in his review of educational conditions in the ninth century refers to the more famous schools at the episcopal sees of Orleans, Rheims, Soissons, Amiens, Metz, Verdun, and Liège, also to notable schools at the monasteries of Tours, St. Alban near Mainz, Seligenstadt, Hirschau, St. Gall, Reichenau, to which the sons of princes resorted to learn how to govern their domains, St. Germain d'Auxerre, where a son of Charles the Bald studied under the renowned Heiric, St. Germain-des-Prés and St. Denis at Paris, St. Benedict on the Loire, and St. Liffard in the diocese of Orleans, Corbie, and New Corbie in Saxony, St. Riquier, St. Martin at Metz, St. Bertin in the diocese

of Cambrai, and St. Benedict of Aniane in the diocese of Montpellier.⁷⁰

We know what fame the monastery of Fulda in Germany had attained under the direction of Rhabanus Maurus. Alcuin's pupil in the monastery of Tours had the distinction of being the most noted teacher of his time, and it has been well said that "to signal ability as a teacher and merit as a writer Rhabanus added no small achievements as a founder. At the time of his election as abbot, no less than sixteen monasteries and nunneries, either founded by former abbots or affiliated at their own desire, already looked up to Fulda as their parent house. To these Rhabanus added six more,—those at Corvey, Solenhofen, Celle, Hersfeld, Petersberg, and Hirschau; we may accordingly reckon twenty-two societies wherein his authority would be regarded as law, and his teaching be faithfully preserved."⁷¹ The monastery too of St. Benedict on the Loire deserves special attention for the fame it achieved and the great numbers of its pupils. Like Fulda it placed only men of deep piety and learning at the head of the schools, and it is recorded that in the last half of the tenth century 5,000 students lived there.

In England an educational revival was attempted in the ninth century under Alfred the Great. (849-900) A new spirit entered into the monastic schools as a result of the reforms he encouraged. He brought the scholars Grimbold of St. Bertin of Rheims, and John of Corbie, from the Continent to raise the standards of the schools. In the next century St. Dunstan (924-88) appeared as a veritable champion of religion and education. As abbot of Glastonbury, bishop of Worcester, London, and Canterbury, he looked especially to the condition of the schools. Historians speak of his habit of visiting and teaching the boys in the cathedral school at Canter-

⁷⁰Maitre, *Les Ecoles Episcopales et Monastiques*, 48. Paris, 1866.

⁷¹Mullinger, *Schools of Charles the Great*, 151.

bury and of the favor in which he was held by them. He was so much beloved that after his death he became the patron saint of English school-boys, and his protection was invoked against harsh and cruel teachers. A detail of his life which is of rare importance in the history of education was his devotion to the manual arts. Instructed in them by Irish monks when a youth at Glastonbury, he was throughout life an artistic and enthusiastic craftsman in metal, wood, and ivory. The ecclesiastical canons of his time place injunctions on the parish clergy to teach the boys of their parishes some of the manual arts, and it does not seem improbable that they were the result of his interest in the teaching and the practice of the crafts. The following were passed during King Edgar's reign: "And that every priest do moreover teach manual arts with diligence." "And that the priest diligently instruct Youth, and dispose them to trades that they may have a support to the Church."⁷²

The Christians in Spain being at this time under the yoke of the Arab, their schools suffered by the vicissitudes of war and persecution. In Italy, however, despite the Saracen invasion, we can note the existence of the monastic, episcopal, parish and private schools. Lothaire I in his decree of 823 deplored the condition of learning in Northern Italy and endeavored to reorganize education by instituting schools at nine important places,—

⁷² Johnson, John. Collection of the Ecclesiastical Canons, etc., of the Church of England, I, Canons of 960, Nos. 11 and 51. London, 1720. *Canones editi sub Edgardo Rege, et ad leges suas pertinentes. (Ut in veterrimo manuscripto codice Saxonico Collegii Corporis Christi Cantabrigiae reperiuntur . . .)* Canon 11. "Docemus etiam, ut sacerdos quilibet ad augendam scientiam opificum discat diligenter." (Hardouin, Acta Con. VI, 660.) "Docemus etiam, ut quilibet sacerdos augendae scientiae causa diligenter discat opificum." (Mansi, Coll. Con. XVIIIA, 513.) Canon 51. "Docemus etiam, ut sacerdotes sedulo erudiant juventutem, et ad artificia ediscenda eos pertrahant, futuros utpote in rem ecclesiae." (Hardouin VI, 663.) "Docemus etiam, ut sacerdotes juventutem sedulo doceant, et ad opificia trahant, ut ecclesiae auxilium (inde) habeant." Mansi XVIIIA, 517.) Anderson, L. F. "Industrial Education during the Middle Ages," in *Education*, February, 1912.

Pavia, Ivrea, Turin, Cremona, Florence, Fermo, Verona, Vicenza, and Friuli. The head of the school of Pavia was Dungall, an Irishman.⁷³

⁷³ Mon. Ger. Hist. Legum II, Capitularia I, 327. Sandys, History of Classical Scholarship I, 462. Cambridge, 1906.

CHAPTER V

THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES

After reviewing the educational revival under Charlemagne and his successors, and witnessing the organization of scholastic forces that resulted, it is refreshing to note with the historian Laurie that, "after all, the early half of the ninth century perhaps did more for education, as that word was then understood, in proportion to the means and opportunities available, than any period since."⁷⁴ It can clearly be seen that during the century new thought was taken for the better education of the clergy and the laity, and the achievements of the time were an inspiration and incentive to those who, in the centuries which followed, led in the councils of Church and State. Despite the vicissitudes through which educational institutions then passed, the dark days of invasion, war, and spoliation of the tenth and eleventh centuries, the lamp of science was kept burning by churchmen and leading laymen whose services to learning were not less than heroic. Each century saw its zealots striving for the preservation of ecclesiastical life in the monasteries and the canonicates, eager for the restoration and perfection of the schools, and endeavoring to provide for the moral and spiritual enlightenment of the people. Through the unselfish efforts of these leaders of society, whether the Pope, the emperor, a bishop or a prince, the modern world can see the educational ideal of the age, and obtain a fair view of the actual conditions which existed.

Of King Alfred's revival in England, to which reference has already been made, and of its influence in this

⁷⁴ Laurie, S. S. *Rise and Early Constitution of Universities*, 77, New York, 1898.

period, much more indeed can be said. He strove to improve the monasteries of his kingdom and to educate the people generally. In the preface to his translation of Pope Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, one of the earliest works of English literature, he says:

"Therefore, I think it is better, if you think so too, that we also should translate some of the books, which are most useful for all men to know, into the language which we can all understand, and should do as we very easily can with God's help if we have peace, that all the youth of our English freemen, who are rich enough to devote themselves to it, should be set to learning, as long as they are not fit for any other occupation, until they are well able to read English writing; and further let those afterwards learn Latin who will continue in learning, and go to a higher rank. When I remembered how the knowledge of Latin had formerly decayed among the English, and yet many could read English writing, I began, among other various and manifold troubles of this kingdom, to translate into English the book which is called in Latin *Pastoralis*, and in English *The Herd's Book*, sometimes word for word and sometimes meaning for meaning, as I had learned it from Plegmund my archbishop, and Asser my bishop, and Grimbold my mass-priest, and John my mass-priest. And when I had learned it to the best of my ability, and as I could most clearly interpret it, I translated it into English; and I will send a copy to every bishopric in my kingdom; with a clasp on each worth fifty mancuses. And I forbid in God's name anyone to take the clasp from the book or the book from the minster." ⁷⁵

Alfred's children were educated in the court or palace school with the exception of Ethelwald, his youngest son, who, according to the historian Asser, "by divine counsel and the admirable foresight of the King, was entrusted to the school of literary training (Grammar School), with the children of almost all of the nobility of the coun-

⁷⁵ Leach, A. F. *Educational Charters and Documents*. Cambridge, 1911.

try, and many also who were not noble, under the diligent care of masters. In that school, books in both languages, Latin and Saxon, were diligently read. They also had leisure for writing, so that before they had strength for manly arts, namely hunting and such pursuits as befit gentlemen, they were seen to be studious and clever in the liberal arts. . . ."⁷⁶

One of Alfred's foundations was "the school which he had with great zeal collected from many noble boys, and also boys who were not noble, of his own nation."⁷⁷

The effect of Alfred's interest in learning on the courtiers and nobles of his realm was excellent. We are told that they, following the royal example, turned to books and cultivated the art of reading. "So that in a marvellous manner nearly all of the earls, the bailiffs and thanes who had been illiterate from infancy, studied the art of grammar, choosing rather to acquire an unaccustomed learning than to resign their office and power. But if any of them could not get on in his study of literature through age or the stupidity of an unused intellect, he ordered his son if he had one, or other near relation, or if there was no one else his freeman or slave, whom he had long before advanced to reading, to read aloud Saxon books to him, day and night, whenever he had leave. And they would lament in the recesses of their minds, that in their youth they had not devoted themselves to such studies. They counted the youth of this time happy in being able to learn the liberal arts, and themselves unhappy in that they had not learnt these things in their youth, and that in

⁷⁶ "Ethelwald, omnibus junior, ludis literariae disciplinae, divino consilio et admirabili regis providentia, cum omnibus pene totius regionis nobilibus infantibus et etiam multis ignobilibus, sub diligenti magistrorum cura traditus est. In qua scola utriusque linguae libri, Latinae scilicet et Saxonicae, assidue legebantur, scriptioni quoque vacabant, ita, ut antequam aptas humanis artibus vires haberent, venatoriae scilicet et ceteris artibus, quae nobilibus conveniunt, in liberalibus artibus studiosi et ingeniosi viderentur. . . ." Asserius, *De Rebus Gestis Aelfredi*, 75. Edited by W. H. Stevenson, Oxford, 1904.

⁷⁷ " . . . scholae, quam ex multis suae propriae gentis nobilibus et etiam pueris ignobilibus studiosissime congregavit." *Ibid.* 102.

their old age, though they vehemently wanted to, they could not learn." ⁷⁸

These accounts of the revival we have received from the *Life of King Alfred* by Asser, who is supposed to be his contemporary. The history is, however, believed by some to be largely, if not entirely, the work of a much later writer. Leach, for instance, believes that "While therefore we cannot consider Asser's *Life* as evidence of the state of education in the ninth century it is highly interesting as evidence of what an eleventh century writer thought possible. It shows at all events that English mothers of the eleventh century taught their children, even royal children, to read English poetry, and that it was customary for English kings and nobles to send their sons to the Grammar school with ordinary freemen to learn Latin and to fit them for judicial business, or for clerical work in the modern as well as the medieval sense." ⁷⁹ Stevenson, however, in his edition of Asser's *Life*, says that the result of his careful study of the work has been to convince him that "although there may be no very definite proof that the work was written by Bishop Asser in the lifetime of King Alfred, there is no anachronism or other proof that it is a spurious compilation of a later date. The serious charges brought against its authenticity break down altogether under examination, while there remain several features that point with

⁷⁸ " . . . Ita ut mirum in modum illiterati ab infantia comites pene omnes, praepositi ac ministri literariae arti studerent, malentes insuetam disciplinam quam laboriose discere, quam potestatum ministeria dimittere. Sed si aliquis liberalibus studiis aut pro senio vel etiam pro nimia inusitati ingenii tarditate proficere non valeret, suum, si haberet, filium, aut etiam aliquem propinquum suum, vel etiam, si aliter non habeat, suum proprium hominem, liberum vel servum, quem ad lectionem longe ante promoverat, libros ante se die nocteque, quandocunque unquam ullam haberet licentiam, Saxanicos imperabat recitare. Et suspirantes nimium intima mente dolebant eo quod in juventute sua talibus studiis non studuerant, felices arbitantes hujus temporis juvenes, qui liberalibus artibus feliciter erudire poterant, se vero infelices existimantes, qui nec hoc in juventute didicerant, nec etiam in senectute, quamvis inhiante desiderarent, poterant discere." *Ibid.* 106.

⁷⁹ *Educational Charters*, xvi.

varying strength to the conclusion that it is, despite its difficulties and corruptions, really a work of the time it purports to be. This result is confirmed by the important corroboration of some of its statements by contemporary Frankish chroniclers. Thus the profession of belief in its authenticity by such eminent historians as Kemble, Pauli, Stubbs, and Freeman agree with my own conclusion.”⁸⁰

Charles Plummer in his *Life and Times of Alfred the Great*, believes that the “work which bears Asser’s name cannot be later than 974, and the attempt to treat it as a forgery of the eleventh or twelfth century must be regarded as having broken down. I may add that I started with a strong prejudice against the authenticity of Asser, so that my conclusions have at any rate been impartially arrived at.”⁸¹

Two other works assigned to the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century, namely, the “Colloquy” and the “Grammar” of the Abbot Aelfric, throw interesting light on the educational condition of the time in which they were written. In the “Colloquy,” a school-boy is asked by his master, “What work have you?” He answers: “I am a professed monk and I sing seven times a day with the brethren and I am busy with reading and singing; and meanwhile I want to learn to speak Latin.” In answer to the second question, “What do these companions of yours know?” he says: “Some are ploughmen, others shepherds, some are cowherds, some too are hunters, some are hawkers, some merchants, some shoemakers, some salters, some bakers of the place.” If the work is representative of a school of that time it “shows an amazing diffusion of education among all classes, boys in all the different occupations . . . learning Latin of a secular teacher side by side with a young

⁸⁰ Asserius, *De Rebus Gestis Aelfredi*, vii.

⁸¹ Plummer, *Life and Times of Alfred the Great*. Oxford, 1902.

monk." From certain expressions in the "Grammar," believed to be the first English-Latin grammar, it has been assumed that not only boys were learning Latin but girls also, for instance, the example given to illustrate that the gerundive in *do* does not vary in gender is, "*Ipsa monialis vigilat docendo puellas*; ('The nun is awake teaching little girls') and "*Legendo docetur vir et legendo docetur mulier*," ('A man is taught by reading and a woman is taught by reading.')⁸²

Furthermore towards the end of the tenth century the ecclesiastical law of England placed injunctions on the priests in the villages to learn and to teach the manual arts, such as we have already noted in connection with St. Dunstan, and explicitly commanded them to "keep schools in the villages and to teach small boys freely." The law stated also: "Priests ought always to have schools of schoolmasters in their houses, and if any of the faithful wish to give his little ones to learning they ought willingly to receive them and teach them gratuitously. You ought to think that it has been written: 'they that are learned shall shine as the brightness of the firmament: and they that instruct many to justice, as stars for all eternity.' But they ought not to expect anything from their relations except what they wish to do of their own accord." The wording of this decree is almost identical with that of the famous capitulary of Theodulf of Orleans of the latter part of the eighth century.⁸³

During this same period noblemen of other countries, notably of France and of Italy, were conspicuous for their interest in learning and in the welfare of the schools.

⁸² Leach, *Ibid.* 39ff.

⁸³ "Ut presbyteri per villas scholas habeant et gratis parvulos doceant. Presbyteri semper debent in domibus suis ludimagistrorum scholas habere, et si quis devotus parvulos suos eis ad instructionem concredere velit illos quam libentissime suscipere et benigne docere debent. Cogitare debetis quod scriptum sit quod 'qui docti sunt fulgebunt sicut splendor coeli' et quod 'qui multos ad justitiam erudiverunt et docuerunt splendeant sicut stellae in aeternum.' Attamen non debent pro instructione eorum aliquid a consanguineis expectare nisi quod propria voluntate facere voluerint." Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, I, 270. Londini, 1737.

Clerval in classifying the distinguished pupils of Chartres during the time of the great teacher and bishop, St. Fulbert (†1029), speaks of two classes of laymen who were educated in the episcopal school: the first embraced those who eventually became members of religious orders, and the second those who remained in the world. Among the former were Foucher, a married man who was 'primicerius' of the school; Ive, who was also married, and likewise head of the school; and Goisbert, a celebrated and prosperous physician who after selling his estate and giving all to the monastery, practiced medicine for the benefit of the poor and the monastery. The donations received by him for his services were many and valuable. Among those who remained in the world were the famous savants and physicians Geoffroi, Guizo, and Jean, the latter a notable philosopher, and the musician Guillemus. The historian of the schools of Chartres also refers to other learned men among the laity who were founders of monasteries and patrons of letters but the place of whose training is not known.⁸⁴

Maître mentions other princes who were founders of monasteries and colleges. Guerech, count of Nantes, was an alumnus and benefactor of the monastery of St. Benedict on the Loire; Theobald, count of Anjou, founded the monastery of St. Florent de Saumur, and Borel, count of Barcelona, was a patron of learning who induced the great Gerbert to go to Spain and teach there.⁸⁵ In England too, Ilbert of Lacy founded the collegiate church of St. Clement in Pontefract Castle with which was connected the school of Kirby-Pontefract. Robert of Eu founded the collegiate church of St. Mary in the castle of Hastings. The latter "made one canon of the church ex officio master of the Grammar school and another of the song school."⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Clerval. *Les Ecoles de Chartres au moyen age*, 69. Paris 1895.

⁸⁵ Maître, *Les Ecoles Episcopales et Monastiques*, 79.

⁸⁶ Leach, *Ibid.* xxi.

In Italy schools were so flourishing and well attended as to excite the admiration of foreigners. The devotion of the Italians to learning was upheld to the Germans for their emulation in one particular and notable instance. A poem by Wipo, "*Carmen Legis pro laude Regis*," addressed to King Henry III, portrays a condition which is entirely complimentary to the Italy of the eleventh century. The credibility of the author and his weight as a witness to the condition of culture at that time have been ably discussed by German and Italian scholars. We accept here the views of Novati,⁸⁷ who takes the simpler interpretation of the poem and admirably demonstrates that it referred to a learned body in Italy which not only embraced the princes of the blood but the wealthier classes—the *divites*, and not alone the *principes*.

In the poem⁸⁸ the king is urged to command that the Germans provide instruction for their children in letters, and in the law, that they may discharge the duties of their state, abide by those customs and practices on which a great State must rest, and by which ancient Rome lived so honorably. These things all of the Italians cul-

⁸⁷ Novati, F. *L'Influsso del Pensiero Latino sopra la Civiltà Italiana del Medio Aevo*, 68. Milano, 1899.

⁸⁸ "Cum Deus omnipotens tibi totum fregerit orbem,
Et juga praecepti non audet temnere quisquam,
Pacatusque silet firmato foedere mundus,
Cumque per imperium tua jussa volatile verbum,
Edocet, Augusti de claro nomine scriptum:
Tunc fac edictum per terram Teutonicorum,
Quilibet ut dives sibi natos instruat omnes
Litterulis, legemque suam persuadeat illis;
Ut, cum principibus placitandi venerit usus,
Quisque suis libris exemplum proferat illis.
Moribus his dudum vivebat Roma decenter,
His studiis tantos potuit vincere tyrannos;
Hoc servant Itali post prima crepundia cuncti,
Et sudare scolis mandatur tota juvenus:
Solis Teutonicis vacuum vel turpe videtur,
Ut doceant aliquem, nisi clericus accipiat.
Sed, rex docte, jube cunctos per regna doceri.
Ut tecum regnet sapientia partibus istis."

Migne, Pat. Lat. CXLII, 1256.

tivate from their childhood: the entire youth is commanded to attend the schools—*sudare in scholis*. Only to the Germans, the poet says, does the study of letters appear a useless and unbecoming occupation, unless for those intended for the ecclesiastical state. The king should, therefore, command that all be instructed so that wisdom may reign with him in his kingdom.

This period deserves especial attention also for the opportunities it offered for training in the special professions of law and medicine into which the laity were to enter in ever increasing numbers. Law was then taught in connection with the liberal arts in the monasteries, the episcopal schools, and in some private institutions. The downfall of legal education in the early Middle Ages means only of the law schools properly so called. As Savigny says in his History of Roman law, "Roman Law, as a branch of ancient literature was included in the course of study, and especially taught in connection with dialectics throughout the Middle Ages."⁸⁹ It is mentioned in Wipo's poem; it was included in the curriculum of the School of York, in the time of Alcuin,⁹⁰ and in other cathedral schools. At times it received a curious place in the curriculum. At Toul in the middle of the eleventh century it was studied after the trivium and before the quadrivium of the seven liberal arts.⁹¹ While we know that many clerics studied and practiced law we know too that there were in this period many laymen among the students and the teachers, like, for instance, Irnerius the great jurist of Bologna in the eleventh and the twelfth century, and Lanfranc who

⁸⁹ Savigny. Geschichte des Römischen Rechts im Mittelalter, I, vi. Heidelberg, 1834.

⁹⁰ Carmen de Pont. Eccles. Ebor. Pat. Lat. CI, 841.

⁹¹ Histoire littéraire de la France, XII, 24. Cfr. Savigny, I, vi, for a foundation in Toul attributed to Pope Leo IX. "Nempe ut primum competit rudibus, decurso artium trivio, non solum claruerunt prosa et metro, verum et forenses controversias acuto et vivaci oculo mentis deprehensas expediebant, seu removebant sedulo. Denique quadrivium naturali ingenio vestigantes degustarunt, atque non minimum in ipso quoque valuerunt."

practiced law before he retired to the monastery of Bec. The judges and notaries so frequently spoken of in the history of Roman law were laymen and teachers of law.

Before the rise of the universities it was not unusual for the monks to rank as the most learned writers and translators of medical works, and the most skilled practitioners, and to be retained at the courts as the royal physicians. There were, nevertheless, the lay physicians like a certain Guidoaldo who appeared in the eighth century in Pistoia, famous for his science and skill and who remained a layman to his death,⁹¹ and there were the professors, like Constantine Africanus, of the eleventh century, who lectured publicly on medicine at Salerno before he became a monk of Monte Cassino.⁹²

A condition for entrance upon the courses of law and medicine was attendance at the lower schools. To study law at Bologna when the great school was well organized it was required to have spent five years in the grammar school, and to begin medicine at Salerno, in the thirteenth century, three years at least were to be spent in the study of logic. It was but a natural consequence that with the rise of the great schools which developed into the universities of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and with a wider interest in learning, the elementary and grammar schools, those under parish or city administration, should everywhere proportionally increase.

⁹¹Coppi, E. *Le Università Italiane nel Medio Aevo*, 29. Firenze, 1886.

⁹²Neuburger, Max. *Geschichte der Medizin*, II, i, 270. Stuttgart, 1911.

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